PROTOCOL

#5

Of the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion

TRANSLATED BY JOHN LITTERAL

From the 1922 Edition:

THE PROTOCOLS OF THE LEARNED ELDERS OF ZION

The Worldwide Secret Conspiracy

Printed and Published in Berlin

PREFACE

Below is an English translation from the Russian text of Protocol FIVE. This particular edition of the Protocols is based upon the text by S. A. Nilus. Though the text is close to his original version of the Protocols by Nilus' EDITION of 1905, this 1922 version does have some variant readings. Most of the variants are very minor and do not change the meaning of the text, but there are some places where there are some omissions and some additions. I have carefully compared both texts and made footnotes showing where there are significant variant readings.

There are some different versions of the Protocols that were published. Here are the following:

1903: Publication of original Protocols in 'Znamia' ('The Banner') by Pavlov Krushevan in a series of seven installments beginning in September.

1904: Partial republication in the third edition of Ljutostansky's 'Talmud I everi' (cleared for publication by censor on the 3rd of November 1903), this includes the first suggestion of a link to Zionism.

1905: Sergei Nilus publishes a longer and heavily-edited version of the Protocols as an appendix to his book about the coming of the Anti-Christ: 'Velikoe v Malom' ('The Great in the Small') in addition to three anonymous editions which are shorter than Krushevan's original that date from this time. Introduction of Freemasonry into and the removal of Old Testament references from the text.

1906: Georgi Butmi de Kacman publishes a different version of the Protocols as an appendix to the third edition of his book 'Vragi Roda Chevlovecheskago' ('Enemies of the Human Race') (preface is dated 5th of December 1905).

1907: Georgi Butmi de Kacman publishes a slightly re-edited version of the Protocols as an appendix to the fourth edition of his book 'Vragi Roda Chevlovecheskago' ('Enemies of the Human Race').

1911: Sergei Nilus re-publishes his book 'Velikoe v Malom' ('The Great in the Small') in a second edition: no substantial change to the Protocols text.

1912: Sergei Nilus re-publishes his book 'Velikoe v Malom' ('The Great in the Small') in a third edition: no substantial change to the Protocols text.

1917: Sergei Nilus re-publishes his book 'Velikoe v Malom' ('The Great in the Small') in a fourth edition: a substantial change to the Protocols text and the beginning of the attribution of the Protocols to Theodor Herzl.

PROTOCOL 5

THE CREATION OF INCREASED CENTRALIZATION OF GOVERNMENT. **5:1** What form of administrative rule can be given to societies where bribery has spread everywhere, where wealth is achieved only by the clever surprises of fraudulent products, where immorality reigns, where morality is enforced by oppressive measures and harsh laws, and not by voluntary principles, where feelings for homeland and religion are erased by international convictions? What form of government should be given to these societies but the despotic one which I shall describe *to you below? We will create an increased centralization of government in order to take all social powers into our hands. We will regulate mechanically all the actions of the political life of our subjects by new laws. These laws will take away one by one all the freedoms and liberties that have been allowed by the goyim and our kingdom will be marked by such a majestic despotism that it will be able at any time and in any place to swat away the opposing and *protesting goyim.	*СОЗДАНІЕ УСИЛЕННОЙ ЦЕНТРАЛИЗАЦИИ УПРАВЛЕНІЯ.* Ка-кую форму административнаго правленія можно дать обществамъ, въ которыхъ подкупность проникла всюду, гдѣ богатства достигаются только ловкими сюрпризами полу мошенническихъ продѣлокъ, гдѣ царствуетъ рас-пущенность, гдѣ нравственность поддерживается кара-тельными мѣрами и суровыми законами, а не добро-вольно воспринятыми принципами, гдѣ чувства къ ро-динѣ и къ религіи затерты космополитическими убѣж-деніями. Какую форму правленія дать этимъ обще-ствамъ, какъ не ту деспотическую, которую я вамъ опишу далѣе? Мы создадимъ усиленную централизацію управленія, чтобы всѣ общественныя силы забрать въ руки. Мы урегулируемъ механически всѣ дѣйствія по-литической жизни нашихъ подданныхъ новыми закона-ми. Законы эти отберутъ одно за другимъ всѣ послаб-ленія и вольности, которыя были допущены гоями и наше царство ознаменуется такимъ величественнымъ деспо-тизмомъ, что онъ въ состояніи будетъ во всякое время и во всякомъ мѣстѣ прихлопнуть противодѣйствую-щихъ и **протестующихъ** гоевъ.
5:2 They will tell us that the despotism of which I speak is inconsistent with modern progress, but I will prove the contrary.	Намъ скажутъ, что тотъ деспотизмъ, о которомъ я говорю, не согласуется съ современнымъ прогрессомъ, но я вамъ докажу обратное.
THE WAY FREEMASONRY HAS SEIZED POWER. **5:3** In the days when the nations looked upon those who reigned as the pure manifestation of God's will, the goyim obeyed the autocracy of *kings without complaint, but since the day we have indoctrinated them with the idea of their own rights, they have come to regard those who reign as mere mortals. The anointing by divine election fell from the head of kings in the eyes of the people, and when we took away their faith in God, the power of authority was thrown out into the street as public property and seized by us.	*ПУТИ ЗАХВАТА ВЛАСТИ МАСОНСТВОМЪ.* Въ тѣ времена, когда народы глядѣли на царствовавшихъ, какъ на чис-тое проявленіе Божьей Воли, гои безропотно покорялись самодержавію царей, но съ того дня, какъ мы имъ вну-шили мысль о собственныхъ правахъ, они стали счи-тать царствующихъ лицъ простыми смертными. Пома-заніе Божественнымъ избраніемъ ниспало съ главы царей въ глазахъ народа, а когда мы отняли отъ него вѣру въ Бога, то мощь власти была выброшена на ули-цу, какъ публичная собственность и захвачена нами.
5:4 In addition, the art of controlling masses and individuals by means of cleverly constructed theory and phraseology, rules of social life, and all sorts of other tricks in which they understand nothing, belongs also to the specialists of our	Кромѣ того, искусство управлять массами и лицами посредствомъ ловко подстроенной теоріи и фразеологіи, правилами общежитія и всякими другими уловками, въ которыхъ гои ничего не смыслятъ, принадлежитъ также къ спеціальностямъ

administrative minds, trained in analysis, observation, and such subtle considerations in which we have no rivals, as we have no rivals in drawing up plans of political action and unity. The Jesuits alone could have equaled us in this, but we were able to discredit them in the eyes of the senseless crowd as a transparent organization, while we ourselves, with our secret organization, remained in the shadows. However, it does not matter to the world whether the *head of Catholicism or our King of Zion's blood will be its Lord, but we, the chosen people, do not care.	нашего административнаго ума, воспитаннаго на анализѣ, наблюденіи, на такихъ тонкихъ соображеніяхъ, въ которыхъ у насъ нѣтъ со-перниковъ, какъ нѣтъ и въ составленіи плановъ полити-ческаго дѣйствія и солидарнсти. Одни іезуиты могли бы въ этомъ съ нами сравняться, но мы ихъ съумѣли дискредитировать въ глазахъ безсмысленной толпы, какъ организацію явную, сами со своей организаціей тайной, оставшись въ тѣни. Впрочемъ, не все ли равно для міра, кто будетъ его Владыкой — глава ли католи-чества или нашъ Царь Сіонской крови, намъ же, из-бранному народу, это далеко не все равно.
THE REASON FOR THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN NATIONS. **5:5** In the meantime, a worldwide coalition of goyim could handle us. We pitted against each other the personal and national *interests of the goyim, the religious and tribal hatreds that we had cultivated in their hearts for twenty centuries. Thanks to all this, no state will find support for its outstretched hand from anywhere, for everyone must think that an alliance against us is not beneficial to himself. We are too powerful to be reckoned with. The Powers cannot make even a small private agreement without us being secretly involved.*	*ПРИЧИНА НЕВОЗМОЖНОСТИ СОГЛАШЕНІЯ МЕЖДУ ГОСУДАР-СТВАМИ.* Временно съ нами могла бы справиться всемір-ная коалиція гоевъ. Но съ этой стороны мы обезпечены тѣми глубокими корнями разлада между ними, который уже вырвать нельзя. Мы противопоставили другъ дру-гу личные и національные **интересы** гоевъ, религіозныя и племенныя ненависти, выpoщенныя нами въ ихъ серд-цахъ въ продолженіи двадцати вѣковъ. Благодаря всему этому ни одно государство не встрѣтитъ ни откуда под-держки своей протянутой рукѣ, ибо каждый долженъ думать, что соглашеніе противъ насъ не выгодно ему самому. Мы слишкомъ сильны, съ нами приходится счи-таться. Державы даже небольшого частнаго согла-шенія не могутъ составить безъ того, чтобы тайно къ нему не были причастны мы.
THE PREDESTINATION OF THE JEWS. **5:6** *Per Me Reges Regnant- "Through Me Kings reign." We are told by the prophets that we have been chosen by God Himself to reign over the whole earth. God has given us genius to enable us to fulfill our task. If the opposing camp had genius, it would still be able to *cope with us, no outsider is equal to an old settler: the fight between us would be more merciless than the world has ever seen.	*ПРЕДИЗБРАННИЧЕСТВО ЕВРЕЕВЪ.* **Per Me Reges Regnant- «черезъ Меня царствуютъ Цари».** Пророками намъ ска-зано, что мы избраны самимъ Богомъ на царство надъ всей землей. Богъ наградилъ насъ геніемъ, чтобы мы могли справиться со своей задачей. Будь геній у про-тивнаго лагеря, онъ бы еще справился съ нами, не пришлецъ не стоитъ стараго обывателя: борьба была бы между нами безпощадна, какой не видывалъ еще свѣтъ.
GOLD IS THE ENGINE OF GOVERNMENT MACHINERY. And their genius would be too late. All the wheels of the government mechanisms are driven by an engine in our hands, and this engine is gold. The science of political economics, invented by our	*ЗОЛОТО ДВИГАТЕЛЬ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫХЪ МЕХАНИЗМОВЪ.* Да и опоздалъ бы геній ихъ. Всѣ колеса государствен-ныхъ механизмовъ ходятъ воздѣйствіемъ двигателя, на-ходящагося въ нашихъ рукахъ, а двигатель этотъ — зо-лото. Измышленная

scholars, has *long indicated a royal prestige for capital.	нашими мудрецами наука политиче-ской экономіи давно указываетъ царскій престижъ за капиталомъ.
MONOPOLY IN TRADE AND INDUSTRY.	*МОНОПОЛІЯ ВЪ ТОРГОВЛѢ И ПРОМЫШЛЕННОСТИ.*
5:7 In order to operate without constraints, capital must achieve freedom for monopoly of industry and trade, which is already being carried out by an unseen hand in all parts of the world. Such freedom gives political power to industrialists, and this will serve to undermine the people. Nowadays it is more important to disarm nations than to lead them to war, more important to use heated passions in our favor than to drive them out.*	Капи-талъ для дѣйствія безъ стѣсненій, долженъ добиться свободы для монополіи промышленности и торговли, что уже проводится въ исполненіе незримой рукой вовсѣхъ частяхъ свѣта. Такая свобода даетъ политиче-скую силу промышленникамъ, а это послужитъ къ стѣ-сненію народа. Нынѣ важнѣе обезоруживать народы, чѣмъ ихъ вести на войну, важнѣе пользоваться разго-рѣвшимися страстями въ нашу пользу, чѣмъ ихъ изгонять.
THE IMPORTANCE OF CRITICISM.	*ЗНАЧЕНІЕ КРИТИКИ.*
The main task of our government is to weaken the public mind with criticism, to numb it from thinking that provokes a rebuttal, to divert the forces of the mind to a battle with empty eloquence.	Главная задача нашего правле-нія состоитъ въ томъ, чтобы ослабить общественный умъ критикой, отучить отъ размышленія, вызывающаго отпоръ, отвлечь силы ума на перестрѣлку пустымъ кра-снорѣчіемъ.
5:8 At all times, nations, as well as individuals, have taken word for deed, for they are satisfied with flashiness, rarely noticing whether the promise has been followed by fulfillment on public ground. Therefore, we will establish flashy institutions that will eloquently prove their benefits to progress.	Во всѣ времена народы, какъ и отдѣльныя лица, принимали слово за дѣло, ибо они удовлетворяют-ся показнымъ, рѣдко замѣчая, послѣдовало ли на об-щественной почвѣ за обѣщаніемъ исполненіе. Поэтому мы установимъ показныя учрежденія, которыя будутъ краснорѣчиво доказывать свои благодѣянія прогрессу.
5:9 We assign to ourselves the liberal persona of all parties, all trends, and supply it to speakers who would talk so much that they would *eventually make people tired of things, disgusted with speakers.	Мы присваиваемъ себѣ либеральную физіономію всѣхъ партій, всѣхъ направленій и снабжаемъ ею же ораторовъ, которые бы столько говорили, что привели бы въ концѣ концовъ къ переутомленію людей отъ рѣ-чей, къ отвращенію отъ ораторовъ.
HOW TO TAKE OVER, PUBLIC OPINION.	*КАКЪ ВЗЯТЬ ВЪ РУКИ, ОБЩЕСТВЕННОЕ МНѢНІЕ.*
5:10 *In order to take public opinion into our hands, it is necessary to confuse it by expressing so many contradictory opinions from different sides, until the goyim get lost in their maze and realize that it is best not to have any opinion in matters of politics, which society is not allowed to know, because only the one who leads society knows it. This is the first secret.	Чтобы взять общественное мнѣніе въ руки, надо его поставить въ недоумѣніе, высказывая съ разныхъ сторонъ столько противорѣчивыхъ мнѣній и до тѣхъ поръ, пока гои не затеряются въ лабиринтѣ ихъ и не поймутъ, что лучше всего не имѣть никакого мнѣнія въ вопросахъ политики, которыхъ обществу не дано вѣдать, потому что вѣдаетъ ихъ лишь только тотъ, кто руководитъ обществомъ. Это первая тайна.

5:11 The second secret necessary for the success of governance is to multiply people's weaknesses - habits, passions, rules of life - so much so that no one can understand this chaos, and people would cease to understand each other as a result. This measure will still serve us to sow discord in all parties, to divide all individual forces that do not yet want to submit to us, to discourage any personal creativity that might in any way interfere with our cause.	Вторая тайна, потребная для успѣха управленія, заключается въ томъ, чтобы настолько размножить на-родные недостатки-привычки, страсти, правила обще-житія, чтобы никто въ этомъ хаосѣ не могъ разобрать-ся, и люди вслѣдствіе этого, перестали бы понимать другъ друга. Эта мѣра намъ еще послужитъ къ тому, чтобы посѣять раздоръ во всѣхъ партіяхъ, разобщить всѣ коллективныя силы, которыя не хотятъ намъ еще покориться, обезкуражить всякую личную инициативу, могущую сколько нибудь мѣшать нашему дѣлу.
THE IMPORTANCE OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE... There is nothing more dangerous than private enterprise: if it is genius, it can do more than what millions of people among whom we have sown discord can do. We should direct the education of free societies in such a way that before every task where entrepreneurship is needed, their hands would fall in utter helplessness. The tension arising from freedom of action weakens the powers when facing someone else's freedom. This results in heavy moral shocks, disappointments, and failures.	*ЗНАЧЕНІЕ ЛИЧНОЙ ИНИЦІАТИВЫ...* Нѣтъ ничего опаснѣе личной инициативы: если она геніальна, она можетъ сдѣ-лать болѣе того, что могутъ сдѣлать милліоны людей среди которыхъ мы посѣяли раздоръ. Намъ надо на-править воспитаніе госвскихъ обществъ такъ, чтобы передъ каждымъ дѣломъ, гдѣ нужна инициатива, у нихъ опускались бы въ безнадежномъ безсиліи руки. Напряженіе, происходящее отъ свободы дѣйствій разслабляетъ силы, встрѣчаясь съ чужой свободой. Отъ этого происходятъ тяжелые нравственные толчки, разочарованія, неудачи.
A SUPER-GOVERNMENT. With all this we will tire the goyim so much that we will force them to agree to an international power *that can absorb all the state forces of the world without breaking and form a super-government. In the place of modern rulers we will put a monster, which will be called a super-governmental administration. Its hands will be stretched out in all directions like pincers, with such a colossal organization that it cannot fail to subdue all nations.	*СВЕРХПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВО.* Всѣмъ этимъ мы такъ уто-мимъ гоевъ, что вынудимъ ихъ согласиться на меж-дународную власть могущую безъ ломки всо-сать въ себя всѣ государственныя силы міра и образовать Сверхправительство. На мѣсто современ-ныхъ правителей мы поставимъ страшилище, которое будетъ называться сверхправительственной администра-ціей. Руки его будутъ протянуты во всѣ стороны, какъ клещи, при такой колоссальной организаціи, что она не можетъ не покорить всѣ народы.

5:1 “to you” [вамъ]. Variant reading. Not found in all versions.

“protesting” [протестующихъ]. The standard version reads “disgruntled” [недовольных].

5:2 “kings” [царей]. Variant reading. Omitted in some versions.

5:4 “head of Catholicism or our King of Zion's blood will be its Lord” [католичества или нашъ Царь Сіонской крови]. One variant reading has, “head of the Catholic Church or our despot of Zion's blood is its ruler?” [католической церкви или наш деспот Сионской крови?]

5:5 This 1922 version has “interests” [интересы], while other versions have “calculations” [расчёты].

5:5 Another version adds “(Now not secretly, but openly. Who is openly at the head of European governments? Jews: in Austria, Ehrenthal is prime minister; in Germany, Bethmann Golneg; in Italy, Luzzati and the mayor of Rome, Nathan, are all Jews. Even in Russia Sliozberg is legal adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs).” [Теперь уж не тайно, а явно. Кто открыто стоит во главе европейских правительств? Евреи: в Австрии премьер Эренталь; в Германии — Бетман Гольнег; в Италии — Луццати и мэр Рима — Натан — все евреи. Даже у нас в России Слиозберг состоит юрисконсультом М-ства Вн. Дел]

5:6 The 1922 version omits Per Me reges regnant- “Through Me kings reign. [Per Me Reges Regnant- «черезъ Меня царствуютъ Цари»]. The 1911 version by Nilus has the whole section, while another version does not have the Latin “Per Me Reges Regnant”, but does have the Russian translation «черезъ Меня царствуютъ Цари».

5:6 The 1922 version has “cope with” [справился]. The other versions read “struggle” [поборолся].

5:6 One version of the Protocols omits the word “long” [давно].

5:7 This 1922 version omits a whole line [чѣмъ ихъ заливать, важнѣе захватить и толковать чужія мысли по своему,] “than to extinguish them, more important to grasp and interpret the thoughts of others in our own way”.

5:9 This 1922 version adds “would eventually” [въ концѣ концовъ].

5:10 Note, this is of little significance, but for the sake of recording variant readings, the 1911 version has an unintelligible error [Чтобы взятъ общественное мнѣніе общественное мнѣніе?].

5:11 This 1922 version omits [по расположению своему,] “which by its location”.

5:11 One version adds a footnote (То, которое у Соловьёва названо «союзным советом, всемирной управой») (The one that Solovyov calls "the union council, the world government.")